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(Extract from the Address of Lord Selborne delivered 28th February, 1909, on the Native Question.)

A REPLY TO :: :: :: :: LORD SELBORNE'S QUESTIONS,

Showing the Urgent Need of a National Native Constructive Policy, and Ideas on which it might be based.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF H. E. V. PICKSTONE.

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PREFACE.

It appeared impossible for the contributor to do otherwise than write the following notes and ideas thereon in the first person.

There is, however, no wish to be dogmatic. The question is far too great a one for any man to dogmatise. Every South African should clearly understand that there are but three possible policies over the centuries to come. (1) Assimilation. (2) Segregation with repression. (3) Segregation with construction. If the writer can lead South African thought along the lines of the latter policy, which he considers as the only possible one as a National policy for our future, he will feel that his study of the question has been of great value to this country.

PREAMBLE.

Of the men that have passed away before us, whether to live in History, or rest peacefully in oblivion, few, very few, have had the great privilege, and the great opportunity of conferring a lasting benefit on the human race that we South Africans have to-day.

We stand to-day watching and guiding the birth of a Nation, and a Nation that is bound to live in History, and I will say a Nation on whom will rest in the future a heavy share of the onus of governing the world.

Therefore, let us each look at the broad position as it reveals itself to us. To me it appears thus:—

(1) We have before us a clean sheet of paper on which we can write what we will, that is to say, we have the inestimable privilege of living under the British Constitution. A privilege which perhaps is neither fully recognised nor properly understood in this country. This Constitution is the most elastic instrument the world can show in the art of government. It rests absolutely on the will of the people, and I state with confidence that the will of the British People, when given expression to after mature thought, cannot fail to produce a result founded on equity and justice to all. Our flag to us is an emblem of these qualities—and without them is an empty symbol of no value whatsoever—and the honour and respect in which it is held throughout the world to-day is the inevitable result of the broad spirit of fairness, which is an inherent quality of the British People when considering calmly, as in their wont, the great difficulties that repeatedly confront them in carrying the burdens they have voluntarily and involuntarily assumed throughout the world.

(2) There has been forced on us in Africa—having descended as a heritage from those brave and determined men, the early Dutch, French, and British Settlers, and indeed the strenuous men of all other

> European Nationalities who came in later—the settlement of what is considered the greatest problem that stands before the world to-day. It is the problem of the relative position the white and black man shall occupy in the Democracy of the future. We may try to shirk the responsibility of bringing our united intelligence to bear on this great problem, but it will inevitably and insistently, and with daily increasing strength, force itself upon our notice, and we shall sooner or later be bound to cope with it. The determined qualities of the several nationalities of which this country is composed, make this an assured fact.

Man is—the ablest and best of us is—inevitably the product of his environment, and the first question which forces itself with insistence on my mind, is has the environment of the average—that is to say, the voting—South African of to-day been of such a nature that he is placed in a position of forming a sound opinion on this great question on a plane with the white world's thought to-day. I fear he has not.

There are two basic points on which our future rests. On the one: whatever nationality we may belong to, we are to a man agreed: *South Africa must be a white man's country.* On the other basic point—the future position of the whites and blacks which is clearly vital to the attainment of this first condition—we are of widely divergent views. We range from the man—and there are such men of high qualities and great personal integrity in Africa—who would deliberately pursue a policy of extermination of the blacks: to the man who would make no distinction whatsoever on account of colour. There are many men amongst us of the highest endowments who hold this view. The problem before us is to reconcile these widely divergent views, and amalgamate them into a policy which will ensure this being for ever a white man's country, giving a reasonable and fair opportunity to the coloured people of a gradual advancement in civilization, according to their individual ability to warrant such advancement.

To the solution of this problem I have for fifteen years devoted most of my spare thoughts, and all the intelligence that God has given me, and a considerable proportion of my spare time, and I feel the time has come when it is a duty due to my country that my deductions be placed on record.

What is said here, I wish to carry every ounce of weight to which it is reasonably entitled, and my readers will therefore pardon me, if I state here my qualifications for giving an opinion on this world's question.

I will range them in the order in which they throw themselves up in my mind.

(1) An intense love and deep sense of gratitude to South Africa, and South Africans of every nationality who have given me all I have.

(2) The operation of the law of heredity. My father—before I was born—was a large landed proprietor, and heavy owner of slaves in the state of Georgia prior to the Civil War. He was one of those advanced British Landowners who established a private school on his property for the education of the slave children. He was moreover in America many months during the latter end of the Civil War when the great question of the slave and his future was occupying the minds of all thinkers.

(3) An association for ten years of the closest nature with the late Mr. Rhodes. The originator of that famous dictum:—"Equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi." Not only a close personal association, but the one responsible man entrusted with the carrying out of his broad agricultural development work, and both his labour constructive policy and political policy associated therewith.

My late chief was a most relentless master, and I was early driven to give extreme and continual thought to the economic solution of the labour difficulties facing me, which were the difficulties facing all farmers, but on a smaller scale. What these difficulties were can be readily gathered from the following extract from "Ons Land" of that period (1897) explaining why farmers had sold their farms:

> "The difficulties of the labour question, not only the scarcity of labourers, but the increasing unreliableness of farm labourers, makes farming at present, a continual source of annoyance, care, and anxiety to the Farmer."

The conditions obtaining then practically obtain today, vide the repeated discussion of numerous Farmers' Associations on the labour question.

This close association and the position taken up both inside and outside the Convention by my late chief's associates and friends, lead me to think that per-

haps I may be in a better position than many others to explain, simply and plainly what Mr. Rhodes really meant by his famous saying—a saying that will live in our History and I have no doubt whatsoever in my own mind will be eventually the future policy of this country on somewhat the lines of the following interpretations, no matter what may be the present views of the leading Statesmen, of the different Colonies. My view on this point is strengthened by fact. It was a most earnest wish of Mr. Rhodes that I should for life assume control of what would have been by far the largest and most important agricultural development scheme in South Africa with ramifications both in the Eastern and Western Provinces. Dr. Jameson knows of all this, and will recall a statement made by Mr. Rhodes in his presence before the most important group of financiers in South Africa. "I have known Mr. Pickstone for 10 years and I am quite prepared to take him for life." And with the old man lying up there in the Matopos, I know he will be grateful for what is said hereafter, which I consider an absolute obligation due to his memory.

(4) A close and intimate association in Canada, the United States and South Africa with every sort and colour of labour, including practically every European Nationality, Chinese, Japanese, Coolies, Cape Boys, Sheep Stealers from the Eastern Province in Western Province convict spans, Basutos, and to a small extent Transvaal Natives.

(5) A tour of seven weeks duration made nearly three years ago through the Southern States of America, entered into with a deliberate object: (*a*) To look into their constructive policy, if any, towards the Negroes. (*b*) To verify, or otherwise the feasibility and soundness of my own scheme of construction towards these people in Africa.

I landed in New York practically unknown, and was enabled to interview—by coming down to bedrock at once—and to thoroughly search the minds of nearly all the leaders of thought on the Negro Problem in the United States on both sides of the question, including leading Negroes: from the Hon. Hoke Smith, of Georgia, the strongest white Democrat in the South,—who hammered his fist on the table, and thundered out the statement: "I stand for the purity of the Caucasian race"—to that brave, quiet, thoughtful,

intensely earnest, and thoroughly splendid personality, Dr. Frissell, the Principal of Hampton College, who by-the-bye had just returned from Washington, where he had been to personally thank President Roosevelt for his kind remarks on him and his work at Hampton in his last Presidential address to Congress.

The interest that was taken in my mission may be guaged from the fact that after thoroughly going through practically every State of the South, except Florida, I rolled North to Washington with introductions to President Roosevelt and three members of his Cabinet.

It may interest my readers perhaps to understand the position taken up by me, especially in discussing the matter with leading Negroes. It was a frank and straightforward one, and they were told:—"I am a white man, and you must fully understand that the white man is always first with me." Any intention of posing as a high moralist or humanitarian was disclaimed, and I distinctly said:—"*I am looking into the economic position, which is the vital side of the question for us in Africa.*"

Having now at length—perhaps tedious length—disposed of my qualification to be given a fair hearing on this great problem, I will say that I am convinced that had Mr. Rhodes lived, he would not be a party to the Constitution as it has been placed before the people of South Africa in its entirety. I feel that it would have been broader, and based on sounder and higher principles. The Union of South Africa under the British Flag was his dream for years, and very near his heart, and it is extraordinary that his friends are unable to call down his blessing on what was a lifelong hope, and the main desire of his life. In what respect will be rightly asked could Mr. Rhodes not have given his support to a Constitution that has been received with very general approval throughout South Africa, and considerable satisfaction in England, and the other self governing Colonies. I will tell you. If he had been unable to convert during the Convention its Members to the principle of a constructive policy, towards the coloured people and natives of this country, which was undoubtedly revolving in his mind for some time before his death, he would have insisted on a clause being inserted leaving this possibility open for the future. *This has not been done, and therein lies it appears to me the whole danger to the future of Africa.*

Surely if public opinion in our country is not ripe for construction, it is a wise and Statesmanlike provision *to keep the door open*, instead of creating machinery for closing it for

ever; and entering upon a policy of repression which is the principle the Convention has accepted, whether Members recognise it or no.

If readers are unprepared to believe this wait and watch events.

The Prime Minister is reported to have said at King William's Town in a late issue of the "Cape Times," that he was unable to decide on what lines future parties would split. He said:—"It might even be simply the ins v. the outs." I can scarcely credit him with the uttering of such a statement. It shows a want of imagination which one can scarcely believe possible in him. Does he not for instance recognise that the great question of the assimilation of the Franchise is one that will certainly be tackled in the close and immediate future?

There is no doubt in my mind that every Member of the Convention before its uprising pledged himself to the other Members to do his utmost to secure the acceptance of the Convention as it stood.

Dr. Jameson took an early opportunity of putting it for acceptance to his Constituents in that centre of thought and learning, Grahamstown. His great and charming personality ensured its prompt acceptance, certainly without deep thought. This was a policy of rush which you must agree is unsound, as it is essential that each individual be allowed full opportunity for thought and discussion.

Is it not desirable at the present time to examine the relative essential qualities of statesmanship of the late Mr. Rhodes and of Dr. Jameson, on whom his mantle has rightly fallen, the man in the street looks upon them perhaps as of little difference in attainments, whereas in actual fact they are in their qualities of statesmanship as wide apart as the poles. One who holds the memory of the one and the personality of the other in the high esteem that I do can do full justice to both. The statesmanship of Dr. Jameson is of the "Suaviter in modo" type, whereas that of Mr. Rhodes was the "fortiter in re." Put into plain English. Mr. Rhodes was a constructor and dreamer of practical dreams, the grasper of essentials, and had the doggedness to hang on to these until he had passed them well into practical politics. Dr. Jameson has none of these qualities, his ability lying in an extraordinary amount of diplomacy and tact, and his wisdom is of the highest order. Have we not had a splendid, and if I may say so, noble example of this since the death of Mr. Rhodes? I am sure it will stand to his everlasting credit that during his late term of office as Prime Minister

he consistently and through good and evil repute set himself to draw together the two great South African races, and with great success.

We do not know the secrets of the Convention, but there is no doubt that all his great talents were here brought into successful operation to bring divergent opinions to a compromise. Is compromise always sound statemanship? I say always, except when it sacrifices principle, as has been done. Has he not I ask him in his eagerness to crack the Racial nut, forgotten that it has principle as a kernel?

Mr. Rhodes loved the Dutch, but he hated what he called Krugerism, which he saw was contrary to the spirit of liberty and progress. Does not Dr. Jameson see that *the machinery for the reintroduction of Krugerism*, I mean in its narrow sense, has been accepted by the Convention, and is in fact particularised in the Draft Constitution?

I trust no reader will rush to the conclusion that here is a self-elected discoverer of some base plot to reintroduce a general policy of repression in Africa. This is entirely disclaimed, but one does see the possibility of doing so, and one can readily conceive a panic which would ensure this possibility being made actual fact; History records many such.

Had Lincoln lived he would never have given his approval to the 14th and 15th amendments to the American Constitution, they would have been unnecessary. It was a party policy of ill-regulated hopelessness that permitted them, and the terrible consequences which followed in their train are still casting a shadow over the Southern States.

Let us draw a broad contrast between the views of the Delegates to the Convention. The majority of the Transvaal, O.R.C. and Natal Members were pledged to a policy of repression, for that is what the Transvaal policy amounts to, and in its essentials to-day is the Kruger Policy. The Cape Members had pledged themselves to the hilt to the policy of equal political rights during the late Elections. The Transvaal policy is essentially bad, and if continued will operate slowly but surely in *lowering the standard of civilisation and progress of the Whites, more especially the poorer section*, and is in no way necessary to securing the future of Africa as a white man's country, in its best and lasting sense.

The Cape policy if pursued in peace over many generations must in my deliberate opinion ultimately lead to this being a black man's country, but the temper of the South African people will never permit this, therefore there must come war. Picture to yourselves what that war will mean. In its essen-

tials the policy, outside the Native Territories, is nothing more nor less than what is called "The Jamaica Policy," and the most careful students of the Jamaica Policy as far as I have been able to read them frankly admit this will be the inevitable result in the West Indies in course of time. Therefore seeing that we are determined at all cost to make this a white man's country, I necessarily stand as a strong opponent of our present Cape system. I do not mean to imply for a minute that it has been of no service to the Cape Colony in the past. It has been of immense value, but it has lived its day, and we are to-day looking for a National Policy, and as a National Policy suited to our political, social and economic needs through the coming generations, it is totally unsuited.

After all what is the main source of wealth of any country? Is it not its labour? The great majority of our labour is black and coloured, and so it will remain. Irresponsible labour is the curse of Africa to-day, as it has always been, and if we are to increase the wealth of this country we must instil a sense of responsibility into our labour. This as a practical man I say cannot be done under a system of repression, and it it impossible for us to develop the potential agricultural resources of this country with the labour as it is.

What were Mr. Rhodes thoughts when he uttered his dictum "Equal rights for every civilised man South of the Zambesi"? He meant it I feel to be taken literally. He did *not* say equal political rights. If he had meant this he would have said so. Did he mean equal social rights? Certainly not. What he meant was *equal elemental rights*, the right of living and of being happy, the right to progress each according to his ability. In fact the policy I was carrying out for him amongst the coloured people during our years of association.

I would like to refer to the striking address of Lord Selborne on the Native question. It was significant. One cannot but recognise that at great personal sacrifice and in a most deliberate manner he seized the only opportunity of giving his private and unofficial views of this great question, and every word he uttered deserves our serious and careful attention. With his masterly review of the conditions and their inevitable result I am in full and absolute accord, but my views on a future National Policy are widely divergent.

All my thoughts, and all that I have seen and learnt in Africa and the United States impress on me this fact, that there is only one way of dealing with the question, and that

is by means of a *gradual State Policy of construction, founded on the bedrock of segregation.*

It was in the very early days of my association with the late Mr. Rhodes that construction of these people began to force itself upon my mind with great insistence. Quickly seeing that it was not quantity of labour we required, but quality, it was not merely animal strength, but intelligence. Our views were absolutely in accord, and he entrusted to me during three years the spending of £50,000 on labour Construction alone. Then came the war, and as Pass Officer for some time in my district one was able to see the many benefits of the pass system operating on our boys. These were self evident, both as to their sobriety and general conduct, and crime statistics would certainly bear this out. Soon after the death of my late chief, I had arrived at a basis of what I felt to be a sound and just policy of construction towards the entire coloured people and natives of South Africa, and I was taking every opportunity of testing its feasibility, and its need or otherwise, by carefully following current literature and local facts on the subject. Nearly six years ago I went on one of my periodical visits to America, and had made up my mind to place the scheme before that great Negro reformer, Dr. Booker Washington. Having received an introduction to him I was enabled to do this. He listened with close attention and much interest, and gave his opinion in these words:—"It is to me quite a new idea, but seems sound." The invitation he extended to me at that date to visit Tuskegee, I was unable to accept.

The next event of National importance in South Africa was the Chinese Labour Question. The strong feeling I held on the Native Question and my recognition of the great value as an asset of these people and my absolute belief that they had in their composition if properly handled the making of the finest labour in the world, naturally made me a determined opponent, and a strong partisan. To me it was a National crime, and would have delayed the solution of the Native Question indefinitely. Africa was making rapid history at this period, and continued to do so, and those who were following current events closely, and took a broad South African view, felt that Union could not be long delayed. Personally I felt this strongly, so strongly that I decided to take every practical step possible to test my view of a National Policy of construction towards these people.

Nearly three years ago I decided to go to America to tour the Southern States, looking for their ideas on such a policy, and even perhaps finding one in force, and noting its operative bearing on our needs.

It will occupy far too much space for me to enter here into the intensely interesting facts which forced themselves on my notice whilst there. So I will state that on leaving Memphis for Washington I felt satisfied in my mind that there *was no policy of construction for the Negroes of the United States.*

The first Member of the Cabinet I interviewed was Mr. Garfield, a close personal friend of the President. To my question whether they had a constructive policy towards the Negroes, he said yes at once, giving me the outlines of their policy. As a builder I knew at once this was practically building a house without any foundation, and was not construction in its true and lasting sense.

The President arranged to see me during the following morning. He was absolutely frank and straightforward with me, and clearly told me the main principles guiding his policy. I told him I was looking for a policy of construction, and in spite of what Mr. Garfield and others had told me could not find one. I gathered from him that there was no policy of construction towards the Negroes of the United States. He further informed me that President Lincoln most assuredly had such a policy, but it had died with him, and only a few sidelights on what it would have been were extant to-day; these being in letters to his friends. His policy died with him, and what his sudden death meant to America all students of American History during the reconstruction period in the Southern States must realise. The President, before whom I placed the principles of my scheme of construction, seemed favourably impressed, and said:— "Such a scheme as you propose is impossible in our country. It would involve an alteration in our Constitution, which is practically impossible to-day, but there is nothing in the British Constitution to prevent such a scheme being introduced within the British Empire." After seeing the President it was needless seeing others, but I left America satisfied that everything I had seen meant the urgent need of a National Policy of construction for these people in South Africa.

Now the points I wish to emphasize are as follows:—

1. The right of the white man to rule for ever *must be safeguarded.* God has given him the capacity to rule over millions of an inferior race, and the 2,000 years of civilisation behind him render this an obligation upon him. The heavy preponderance of coloured people and natives, 6,000,000 to 1,000,000 warrant such safeguarding in the interests of *both* races.

2. Our labour is our most valuable asset, whether it be white or whether it be black.
3. Labour, both white and black, increases in value as it acquires character.
4. The great majority of our labour is coloured or black, and will always be so.
5. The policy of repression means taking the greatest share of our chief asset into the National Exchequer at 50% below par.
6. A hopeless man, such as repression will inevitably produce, is a dangerous man.
7. The retention of this policy, even in a part of Africa, will inevitably recoil on the Whites in such parts, producing the lowest type in the greatest numbers. History records this. As a striking case in point without going into ancient history, study the origin and history of the Appalacians, and their position to-day. They are four times greater in number than the entire white population of South Africa, and are the by product of slavery.

The accompanying photograph will show that they are like many of our own people.

An Appalacian Family of North-West Virginia, U.S.A.

8. The acquisition of character, stability, responsibility, and hope would mean increasing our asset 100% to 500%. As a practical man I consider the latter figure not excessive, taking into consideration the enormous amount of labour lying unproductive and idle, which under such a policy would gradually become productive.
9. South Africa (outside its mines) is at present a poor country. It has, however, possibilities of advancement before it in agriculture, particularly in the Cape Colony, which will bring its agricultural wealth easily on a par with that of the other great Nations of the world, and great self governing Colonies of the British Empire.

My contention is that there is urgent need of an honest, just and gradual native policy of construction, and it can only be founded on the root principle of segregation, and frankly recognising that class legislation, and the drawing of a colour line in the mutual interest is an essential. The black man must carry his own burden, with the assistance of the coloured man, under our control, and we must build up in him a pride of race. This can be achieved in no other way than by a policy of segregation. The coloured people, from whom many of the future leaders will undoubtedly develop, should be placed, provided their qualifications warrant it, at the head of their race, and not hanging on to the tail of ours. Here I differ radically from Lord Selborne, Sir Harry Johnson and other careful students of this great question.

Segregation will also result in this highly desirable factor in his advancement, that the black man will emulate the virtues of the best of his own race, instead of the vices of the worst of ours, with whom he mainly of necessity comes into contact. The fundamental principle of this scheme is *emulation*, and every student of these people recognises his imitative nature.

For a moment let us review the general position. We have roughly 6,000,000 Coloured and Blacks, only 1,000,000 of whom have risen above the status of barbarions. Lord Selborne divides them into four classes, let us divide them into five grades.

My scheme is the reversal of the Kruger Policy. In the Transvaal of that day all Natives wore a conspicuous badge which was a mark of degradation. Under this construction when they earn it, they wear a *badge of honour* which entitles them to the increased respect of the community as they advance.

Grade 5.—Under the scheme coloured people and natives, both male and female, who are barbarians will be treated as such, and have no privileges whatsoever, except the protection of the law.

1. They will not be able to move about without a pass.
2. For railway travelling they will have practically cattle trucks.
3. When it is possible to arrange it so Municipalities will see they walk in the street, and not on the side-walk.
4. All liquor is prohibited to them under any circumstances whatsoever.
5. They will have to live in Municipal Locations, and in a general way be treated as they are in many parts of Africa to-day.

Grade 4.—When these people can show, say five years of honourable and faithful service, without any educational qualifications whatsoever, they will each have the opportunity of stepping into grade 4. This entitles them to wear a distinctive badge, and the onus of proving their right to it rests with the applicants. This gives them *certain specified privileges.* They will be able to walk on the side-walk instead of in the street. They will be allowed to travel on the railway in a third class carriage of exactly the same character as the third class allowed to Whites. They will be able to go to a canteen, and be served with liquor by the glass only, but not by the bottle, and such other privileges as may be decided.

The sight of the badge (which should be a small one worn in the button hole, as is so frequently seen in America. As an instance the Grand Army of the Republic badge) ipso facto warrants the wearer in securing all the privileges accorded to his or her grade. The badge and the accompanying privileges must be directly granted him by the *Prime Minister of South Africa,* through the special department created to deal with the organisation, and in this way each one is led to feel that the friendly and kindly hand of the Chief of the Government is upon him, and that he is a recognised person, and is more than an animal. The badge is his rating (to use a sailor's expression) in the Commonwealth of South Africa. Any person who wears a badge without it having been legally granted and registered commits a penal offence against the State. Any person who commits a crime, or even a minor offence is ipso facto relieved of his or her badge, and thrown back amongst the unprivileged barbarians. If an Applicant for a badge is refused one by the officer (say

for this grade a Field Cornet) he has the right of appeal, right up to the Supreme Court if he wishes it. An instance of extreme importance here is the liquor question. I hold that to build up character, whether white or black, one must go through the mill, and it is a wrong principle to withhold liquor from a person simply on account of the colour of his skin, or because he belongs to a certain branch of the African family of Natives. As a case in point—on account of colour the son of John Dunn was lately prosecuted in Natal for obtaining a drink. Is this sound statesmanship? Is it construction? Is it not ridiculous? The scheme proposed ensures each getting liquor when he has assumed a fixed standard of responsibility, provided he conducts himself decently, and if he does not the privilege is promptly withdrawn, and it may be a year or two, as is decided, before he again gets the facilities. On these lines I consider the liquor question of South Africa can be fairly and satisfactorily settled once and for ever, and it is a question full of outstanding difficulties.

Grade 3.—For entering into this grade an educational test is needed, and increased evidence of civilisation, to be decided upon, required, and the value of steady employment should be kept well to the front. Here again additional privileges are granted by the State to wearers of this badge. They have the right to travel in the second class of the railways in the coloured compartments, also to obtain liquor by the glass or bottle. They will have the right to lease property, and if desired build their own dwellings, and live outside the Municipal Locations in such quarters of the towns or villages as are arranged, and such other privileges as Parliament may decide. Applicants for admission to this grade would appear before a Resident Magistrate, or other officer of standing.

Grade 2.—The qualifications for entry to be, a much higher educational test, the owning of certain property, and a high state of civilisation and respectability is necessary.

Here again additional privileges are granted. First class travelling in the coloured compartment is permitted. The ownership of land is allowed under certain conditions, and the right to sit on a jury trying certain classes of coloured and native cases should in my opinion be confined to this class and the grade above, and they should be entitled to a vote in Municipal Elections only. Applicants should apply to a higher court for admission to this grade.

Grade 1.—Grade 1 is the safety valve. Here a badge is granted, but instead of being worn in view of the public,

it is carried in the pocket, and is only utilised to prevent the suffering of any offered or suggested indignity. Admission is only granted by the Governor-General in Council, and *the maximum number of the grade is decided by Parliament from time to time.* The holder of this badge can travel in any compartment, white or coloured, and have full privileges. Personally I should allow them that of sitting in the Union Parliament. So far as I can see there are not ten men in Africa to-day who would be entitled to these privileges as I see them. Readers will see the adoption of such a construction would obviate any necessity for the introduction of clause 35 into the Constitution. A coloured man might rise up of such outstanding merit and be of such enormous assistance to the Whites of this country in elevating the mass of his people, that by their votes they would place him in the Union Parliament.

Under this construction scheme a woman takes the status of her husband, and all children up to an age decided upon.

Mixed marriage would be prohibited by law.

Native Chiefs and Headmen should be granted honorary rank, as the Prime Minister may decide, as their dignity should be maintained, and their usefulness under trial law should be fully recognised. This policy would mean the retention of the present Native Reserves and Protectorates for ever, and the power of acquiring others if needed and is totally opposed to the partition of Swaziland now being undertaken by the Transvaal Government.—Even the "Volkstem" could not see eye to eye with the partition. The scheme would not operate in any Territory where tribal laws were preferred. It also permits of Natives who live in the Protectorates remaining barbarians at their pleasure, but directly they step over the border of such Territory each one comes under the operation of this construction. A case in point. A Basuto who has worked say five years on the mines can travel to the Rand in comfort without a pass, simply by wearing his 4th grade badge, after crossing the borders of Basutoland. If he had no such qualification he would need all the present passes and disabilities alluded to by Lord Selborne.

The scheme is based on root principles, as all constructive work to be successful, must be.

I know myself the hundred and one points which can readily be brought up showing that it is unworkable, but as previously said this is formed on fifteen years thought and close observation. I invite criticisms, to which I am quite prepared to reply in the proper place and at the right time.

It is the need of recognising the necessity of construction that I wish to secure, and the rights appertaining to each grade are a simple matter of opinion.

The question of the Franchise, which is in reality a secondary and unimportant one, has been kept well to the front by politicians of every party and by both friends and enemies of the Natives, and is in my opinion clouding the real issue, *which is the safeguarding of elemental rights, and the granting of opportunity of advancement to these people.*

If I am unable to appeal successfully to the common sense and fairness of the men of South Africa, I wish to appeal to the women, and address specially to them a few words.

This question is a domestic question which daily enters in to every one of your lives, and pursues you persistently, destroying much of your happiness by destroying your comfort. You leave the excellent Seminaries provided for your education with a considerable amount of culture and refinement of taste, and many of you with high intellectual attainments and a decided taste for music and the other arts. You marry in due course and set up your own home with these high ideals (and they are of inestimable value to both you and your husband), still strong within you. You have already found, or will find as the years go by they will be partially shattered, and you will not be able to lead the full life, which means to you your full mead of happiness. Why? It is the everlasting servant question, and the small worries attendent thereon. Now I put to you a question, and if you know anything of the coloured and native people of this country, you cannot, I think, but agree. It is a very simple question. If your housemaid is permitted by the Prime Minister of this country to walk on the side-walk, and to travel in a decent compartment on the railway, and have her glass of wine and other privileges, and your cook, whose want of character has not permitted her to secure these privileges, but must herd with the barbarians, will she not make an effort, in fact every effort to have the housemaids privileges, and will not the effort to secure such privileges be a daily relief to you? The reply is left to each one of you individually.

To my old, and if he will allow me to call him so, dear friend the Prime Minister, I also have a few words to say. Sir! you have always been of outstanding courage, and high ideals have always been the mainstay of your long and honourable political career. You have never yet made a sacrifice of your principles.

Are you not doing so now? Has the cloud of depression, which has been hanging so ominously, and so persistently

over this Colony for the last few years, hidden from you for the moment the true proportion of things?

Under Union with the broader horizon, which will certainly appear to all of us, this depression will gradually but surely lift, as the potential resources of this country lying at present dormant and untapped, and I will say even unrecognised, are in a Central Parliament of greater men full of a broad patriotism discussed on the floor of the House. Is it not then perhaps you may regret the possible sacrifice of elemental rights? I go further, and will tell you that without their recognition it will be impossible to agriculturally develop your great country and mine.

I ask you, do not allow a shadow of a possibility of this great wrong. I do not intend here to enlarge on the facts which are obvious all over the Cape Colony, which demand your attention and that of every other Statesman. I will ask you however to come with me for a moment to the richest district of the Colony—Oudtshoorn. We will go into one of the Tobacco Factories, and you will see there white girls working side by side with—and evidently by their general demeanour—on the most familiar terms with Hottentots; this means only one result—assimilation—and there are thousands of other instances available for argument. I feel that you will not have arrived at the conviction that assimilation is desirable, and it is surely not necessary for me to point out to you that there are only three possible policies for the future. Assimilation—Segregation with repression—and also along the line of my thoughts—Segregation with Construction.

Think over all I say. Think carefully. You will feel with me that a constructive policy is necessary, and you will recognise that provision must be made in the Constitution for securing its success. Te secure such, I can only see that the insertion of an additional clause is essential. Such clause to read somewhat as follows:—"*Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this Constitution, the way shall always be open to secure a constructive policy towards the coloured and native people of the country, securing to them elemental rights, and an equal opportunity of advancement. A bare majority of votes in the National House of Assembly, and Senate being sufficient to secure the adoption of such as a National Policy.*"

As a whole hearted Union man and a strong anti-federalist of many years standing I see little else to criticise in the Constitution, but I beg of you hold the way open for construction on some such broad lines as indicated here.

To Mr. Fischer, the Prime Minister of the Free State I also wish to speak. For over five years now I have been one of your people, farming in the conquered Territory, a district that you delight to call "the granary of South Africa." Do not allow fine phrases to mislead you, especially if they sink deeply into the homes of your people, and jeopadise their future. Let us be practical for a moment. We have not had a wheat crop in the conquered Territory for over five years. Year after year it has been stated that it is an adverse season, that the rains are wrong, otherwise it is the lice. The fact of the matter is that the majority of our soil is played out for shallow rooted cereals, and the presence of the lice is a simple indication of this, and never again will we grow, except on virgin soil, the wheat crops formerly harvested, unless we sufficiently manure the land to throw off the lice.

Thanks, however, to the enterprise of many of your farmers during the last fifteen years, it has been proved that apples of the highest quality can be grown under ordinary conditions. Being deep rooted they draw sustenance over a wide area, and the application of manure can be obviated for many years. To-day with all the disabilities up against us we have an export possibility in sight of apples alone of upwards £250,000 per annum, and there is only one disability in our way to prevent us increasing this export to £1,000,000 per annum. This is bitter pit, little understood at present, but there is no doubt that we shall in time remedy it.

I am not endeavouring here to boom the fruit industry, but to point out that here lies one possible means for the farmers to attain a competence. They will, *however, never make a success of it under a policy of repression of labour.* This is the point I wish to make. Only lately one sees from the papers that the Premier Diamond Mine have withdrawn their Labour Agents from Basutoland, because they find this labour, unreliable, intractable and disappointing. If big corporations view this thing so, how can other people, especially your poorer people, hope to utilise this labour in a branch of agriculture which over and above all others fundamentally calls for intelligence and responsibility.

To your Colony labour construction is the only hope outside of diamonds, unless you are prepared to sacrifice many possible agricultural assets.

To the Prime Minister of Natal:—I will say your people are of all those affected by Union those most strongly in favour of the Federal idea. As a close observer of your conditions, one cannot understand the point of view that leads to this conclusion. Why? Your very life and existence depends upon Union with your teeming population of bar-

barians; and further they are of a militant type. Native construction will mean everything to you. These people are to you an asset whose value can scarcely be overestimated. You may say—but they will not work, and even those who do have not the capacity, ability, or intelligence to be of very great value to the State. If your people argue on these lines their power of observation must be of a very poor order; in fact they can have no such power.

As one who has travelled through your Colony with eyes open to learn, let me draw your attention to the fact which is evident throughout Natal. All along your Railways in the Refreshment Rooms coolies and natives meet in equal competition as waiters. One could see no difference between the efficiency of either. Waiting at table is not a simple nor easy job; I have tried it and failed, and therefore know. It requires many of the qualities that lead to success in other spheres, and this simple fact convinces me, that in your natives, with a National Policy of construction, you have an asset to your Colony of enormous value, and under such construction, with the entire whites of South Africa behind it, you will have permanent peace amongst these people, thus relieving the Union of possible heavy military expense.

Generals Botha and Smuts have since the rising of the Convention been delivering addresses throughout the Transvaal breathing a broad patriotism and advancing high ideals, amongst them being the Northern extension towards the Congo. Both these Statesmen have been soldiers, and must know that it is one of the most elementary rules of war that *your base must be protected.* I contend that any advance northward is unsound statesmanship, under the present conflicting policies towards our Natives. And until we get a National constructive policy might be attended with great danger to many sections of our white community. If we had such a policy for these people, think what an enormous help they would be to us in our Northern expansion, giving us the necessary assistance in our development work, and by their force of example carrying civilisation directly amongst the Natives as they come under our control. And over and above all this would not our advance North then be justified in the eyes of the world? And the world is watching you, of that you can be quite sure. Whereas, if we leave our Natives struggling in the mire of repression South of the Zambesi, the world would certainly stand as an enemy of our expansion, and rightly so. I commend therefore to the notice of these Statesmen the suggestions contained in this article.

15th March, 1909.